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CILICIAN ARMENIA

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The Cilician period, culminating in the establishment of the kingdom of Cilicia in about 1199, represents something of a break in Armenian history. For the first time, major events in the history of the Armenian people were played out in territories that were never part of the ancestral Armenian homeland and where Armenians probably did not even constitute a majority of the population. It is also the first period since that of the Roman Empire in which the concerns of Western Europe—represented by the Crusader states—and the Roman Catholic Church had a major impact on events affecting the Armenian people. Moreover, the number and variety of the many contemporary European, Armenian, Greek, and Arabic sources, while by no means providing a complete narrative, supply rich detail on specific events and personalities of Cilicia, and imbue it with a more “modern” flavor than previous periods of Armenian history.

Early History

The early history of the Armenians in Cilicia is that of the efforts of two Armenian families over the course of many generations to extend their control over a region of distinct and varied geographical features. Lower Cilicia is a broad plain in Asia Minor that borders the Mediterranean Sea. It is ringed by three mountain chains: the Taurus Mountains to the

northwest, the Anti-Taurus Mountains to the northeast, and the Amanus Mountains to the east. In addition to the economic potential of access to the sea, the western half offered a more secure situation, as the mountain passes through the Taurus, particularly the major pass, known as the Cilician Gates, are long and narrow and easily defended. Because of the coastline and navigable inland rivers, this was also a region of trade and cities: to the west, Adana and Tarsus, and farther east, Mamistra (Mopsuestia, Misis). The upper, eastern diagonal of the plain borders on the Amanus Mountains and Syria to the east. Its mountainous character and remoteness made it a less prosperous region and a less secure one, as the Amanus passes, notably the Amanus Gates, are wider and shorter and, therefore, less easily defended against invaders than those of the Taurus.

Cilicia and its environs, populated in this period by Greeks, Arabs, and Jews as well, had been home to Armenians since the eleventh century. After the fall of the Bagratid kingdom, the Byzantine Empire, which had controlled Cilicia since the mid-tenth century, assigned many imperial military officials of Greater Armenia to lands farther west, in and around the Cilician plain. Other Armenians emigrated there on their own initiative. All brought with them their households and, those who had them, their troops. Although the generals or chieftains in Byzantine service were assigned to protect the region from Seljuk incursions, they sought as well to establish new principalities for themselves. Being far from the center of Byzantine authority, they were able to achieve a level of semi-independence in their territories.

During the second half of the eleventh century, the most powerful Armenian in the region was Philaretus, a general of the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes. Philaretus controlled a wide and strategic region from Antioch to Melitene (Malatia), but his territory was eventually broken by Seljuk attacks. Upon Philaretus's death in 1092, his Armenian lieutenant, Gogh Vasil ("Basil the Robber"), inherited his holdings in Raban and Kesum and his position as the most powerful Armenian chieftain in Cilicia.

Along the Anti-Taurus Mountains in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were other lieutenants of Philaretus, such as Tatul of Marash, Gabriel (in some Armenian sources, Khoril) of Melitene, and Toros of Edessa (Urfâ, Urha). Like many Armenian imperial officials, Tatul, Gabriel, and Toros held to the Greek Orthodox faith. The area of Tarsus was controlled by a member of the Artsruni house, Abul-Gharib. East of Mamistra, in the fortress of Gobidara, was Ruben, a former



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Armenian Byzantine official in the service of King Gagik II, who migrated west after the fall of the Bagratid kingdom. To the far western edge of the Cilician plain, in the area of the Cilician Gates, was King Oshin, an Armenian official of the Byzantine Empire, who, upon Abul-Gharib's death, was granted the strategic fortresses of Lambron and Baberon to defend the gates against the Turks.

Despite their probable lack of numerical superiority, Armenians came to dominate key positions in Cilicia. Among these many chieftains, two houses maintained their dominance and, by the early twelfth century, rivaled each other for control of the plain. They have come to be known as the Rubenids or Rubenians, after Ruben, and the Hetumids, or Hetumians, after King Oshin's son Hetum. Unlike the Rubenids, the Hetumids remained loyal vassals of Byzantium, and they retained the fortresses of Lambron and Baberon as the secure center of their power. The Rubenids, after the death of Gogh Vasil in about 1112, came to control the upper, mountainous region around the fortress of Vahka. Some later chroniclers identify Ruben as a relative of King Gagik Bagratuni. There is no historical basis to this claim, but it is no doubt based on accounts that Ruben's grandson, Toros, avenged Gagik's death by killing the late king's assassins. However, the fact that these accounts of Toros's revenge appear about the time of Gogh Vasil's death make it likely that, fabricated or true, the Rubenids proclaimed their tie to the Bagratid dynasty in order to legitimize their ascendancy and territorial ambitions in the region. These ambitions consisted of aggressively extending their control southward to the lower plain with its principal trade routes and ports. This expansion naturally brought the Rubenids into conflict with the Hetumids, who, as loyal imperial vassals, defended Byzantine Cilician territory from Rubenid incursions.

At the same time that the Rubenids were beginning to enlarge their holdings in Cilicia, European forces had entered Asia Minor as part of the First Crusade of 1095. There is some debate as to whether the Armenians and other Christians in Cilicia actually saw the Crusaders, or "Franks," as they were called, as welcome "liberators" from Seljuk control. Rather, some historians assert that the Seljuk ascendancy in Asia Minor after the battle of Manzikert (Malazgerd, Manazkert) in 1071, in fact, helped to provide some stability in the region and filled a vacuum in authority left by ineffectual Byzantine rule. Cleaning out the "infidel" Turk, however, provided a powerful justification for the Crusaders to enter Asia Minor. For Cilician history, the establishment of Crusader states at nearby Edessa and Antioch meant that Europe's desire to carve

out independent principalities in the region became a major political and military factor with which all of the Armenian chieftains of Cilicia had to reckon. The history of Cilician Armenia was thus not made, nor can it be told, in isolation, as its course was inevitably affected by that of the Muslim, Byzantine, and Crusader states that neighbored it.

The Crusades and Armenia

From the first, the Crusaders—who included among their numbers clergy and merchants as well as military men—sought out Armenians as guides, purveyors of supplies, and soldiers. As the strongest Christian military leaders in the region, the Cilician Armenian lords became frequent and valuable allies. Armenian, Muslim, and Crusader leaders alike, however, saw in each other a lack of unity, internal rivalries, and territorial ambition, and frequently played one against another. An example is the fall of Toros of Edessa. Soon after the arrival of the Crusaders, Toros requested the assistance of Baldwin of Boulogne, a French Crusade leader in maintaining control of Edessa, which Toros had recently taken from the Seljuks. Baldwin agreed, but only after Toros had promised to make him heir to Edessa by formally adopting the Frenchman as his son. When another raid of Baldwin's against the Turks endangered the safety of the area, the Armenians there, who bore little love for the Greek Orthodox Toros, rose up to overthrow him. Baldwin refused any aid to his "father" and let events run their course. The result was Toros's death by an Armenian mob and Baldwin's assumption of the title of Count of Edessa.

The Armenian chieftains were frequently principal players—sometimes allies, sometimes targets—in the struggle among the Crusade leaders for control and expansion of the two Crusader states of the County of Edessa and the Principality of Antioch. By the year 1118, the territories of Gogh Vasil's successors and the lands of Abul-Gharib and other Armenian chieftains, whose holdings lay east of the Cilician plain, were conquered by Baldwin of Boulogne and his heirs and incorporated into the County of Edessa. This left the Rubenids and the Hetumids, who were more removed from the immediate vicinity of Crusader ambitions, as the only strong and semi-independent Armenian chieftains left in the region.

One of the earliest important Rubenid gains was made by Toros (period of leadership, 1102-1129), the grandson of Ruben, when he

captured from the Byzantines the two fortresses of Bardzberd and Anazarba. The latter, rising to a height of 700 feet, became a center of the Rubenids and was probably the strongest of the Armenian fortresses in Cilicia. The Rubenids continued expanding their holdings in the midst of shifting frontiers and alliances. Toros was succeeded by his brother Levon (period of leadership, 1129-1140). Levon became known as "Leo" or "Leon" to the Europeans and, as evidence of growing Rubenid power, dubbed by Western sources as "Prince Leo of the Mountains." By the year 1135, he had succeeded in extending his holdings to the Mediterranean by capturing, for a short period, the key cities of Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus. This he was able to accomplish largely thanks both to internal fighting among the Muslims, engineered by the Turkish commander of Aleppo, Zangi, and to the deflection of Byzantium's attention to problems with the Serbs and Magyars. By 1137, however, Emperor John Comnenus was able to direct his troops to Asia Minor. His immediate concern was the Crusader principality of Antioch, which, ever since its founding, was to have been turned over to Byzantine rule. As the Rubenid holdings were literally a wedge driven between imperial territories in western Asia Minor and Antioch, John lost no time in invading and reimposing Byzantine rule in his Cilician territories, happily assisted in this task by his Hetumid allies. Tarsus, Adana, and Mamistra quickly fell, and soon after, the key Rubenid fortresses of Vahka and Anazarba. Levon was taken captive to Constantinople, along with his wife and two of his sons, Ruben and Toros. Levon, his wife, and Ruben, all died in captivity; young Toros, however, managed to escape and returned to Cilicia. Military-political events soon provided favorable circumstances for the Rubenids, now led by a grown Toros (period of leadership, 1144-1169), to restore their power in the region. In 1143 John Comnenus died. The next year Zangi captured the County of Edessa. This was a calamitous event for the Crusades, marking their first major defeat, and sparked the Second Crusade. For the many Armenians in Edessa, it meant evacuation to the nearby Crusader state of Antioch and into Cilicia proper. A significant consequence came of the fall of Edessa, however. In 1146 Edessa's former ruler, Count Joscelin II, died after an unsuccessful and bloody attempt to recapture it, during which Zangi's forces killed hundreds of Armenians and other Christian civilians. Joscelin's wife, Beatrice of Saone, sold to the Byzantines many of the fortresses that her husband had controlled. She kept one, however, the stronghold of Hromkla, or Rum Qalat, on the Euphrates River and granted it to the Armenian catholicos. Hromkla became and remained for the next

one hundred years the seat of the catholicosate, despite the fact that for most of this period it was deep in Muslim-held territory.

Meanwhile, Toros was proving himself an able leader. By 1148, the year of the Second Crusade, the Rubenids had recaptured Vahka from the Byzantines and had reestablished Rubenid power in Anazarba and other areas. At the same time, the growing power of Zangi's son, Nur al-Din, particularly after the latter's capture of Damascus in 1154, forced the Crusader states into a closer alliance with Byzantium. Reginald of Chatillon, prince of Antioch, agreed to retake the Cilician cities on the coast for the Greeks (Byzantines), but then failed to hand over the territory to Byzantium. When the Greeks subsequently refused payment for the attack, Reginald sought and received Toros's cooperation in seeking retribution, and, in one of the least glorious and most wasteful episodes of the Crusades, the two leaders combined forces in raiding and looting the Greek island of Cyprus. A short time later the emperor Manuel Comnenus counterattacked and marched through Cilicia, took Toros by surprise, and reduced the area to its already legal status of Byzantine vassal state. It was for but a short period, however. Baldwin, king of the Crusader state of Jerusalem, now allied through marriage with Manuel, mediated on Toros's behalf, probably as thanks for Toros's military aid the previous year, and the Armenian leader soon regained control—albeit under nominal Byzantine suzerainty—over Cilicia.

Toros succeeded in keeping on generally cordial terms with both the Seljuks and the Crusaders. He made what appears to be the first attempt to ally the two dominant Cilician Armenian families, by marrying his daughter to the son of the Hetumid leader, though the bride was later repudiated. Most important, he created over a period of years the beginnings of an Armenian Rubenid state, coming to peaceful terms with the Byzantines and receiving limited Byzantine recognition of his position in Cilicia. He was an active participant in regional military affairs. He established friendly relations with Prince Bohemond III of Antioch by helping him gain the throne against the claims of Bohemond's mother. In 1164 Toros joined a combined force of Crusader and Byzantine troops against Nur al-Din and later helped negotiate the release of Bohemond and the Byzantine commander from Muslim capture. Toros's consolidation of land and his prestige were such that one contemporary Western source referred to Cilicia as "the land of King Toros."

Toros died in 1169, at a critical time for all of Asia Minor and Palestine. Saladin (Salah al-Din) had by that date conquered Egypt and

allied it with Syria, creating a formidable Muslim force that literally encircled the Crusader states and threatened Cilicia. A struggle for Toros's position immediately began among his brothers. One of them, Mleh, who had converted to Islam, killed Toros's son to assure the legality of his own succession and allied himself with Nur al-Din, still the most powerful Muslim leader. Backed by Nur al-Din's forces, Mleh invaded the Rubenid holdings, took possession of all Byzantine fortresses there, and held control for several years, much to the dismay of the other Rubenid nobility. When Nur al-Din died in 1174, the Rubenid leadership lost no time in ousting Mleh and choosing Toros's nephew, Ruben (period of leadership, 1175-1187), as his successor.

Ruben continued his family's traditional struggle against the Hetumids. The Hetumids, however, enlisted the help of Prince Bohemond III of Antioch, who was now himself a Byzantine vassal, and despite the assistance that the Rubenids, under Toros, had lent him, allied with his fellow vassals against Ruben. In 1183 Bohemond invited Ruben to Antioch for talks, purportedly aimed at reconciling the two Armenian houses, and promptly took Ruben captive. It was a brief captivity, but it gave Ruben's brother Levon an opportunity to exert his considerable skills as interim ruler of the house. It also developed in Levon a deep-seated animosity toward Antioch. Soon after his release, Ruben placed the leadership of the house in the able hands of his brother and retired to a monastery near Sis, where he died one year later.

Levon (period of leadership and reign, 1187-1219) took full advantage of the favorable circumstances now facing his territory. Byzantine power in Asia Minor had all but been broken by their defeat at the hands of the Turks at the battle of Myrioccephalon, near Phrygia, in 1176. Saladin had dealt the Europeans the most crushing blow of the Crusades when he captured Jerusalem in 1187, the culmination of a powerful Muslim counterattack against the Crusades. The fall of the Holy City launched the Third Crusade, which, while it recaptured the key city of Acre, failed in retaking Jerusalem itself. With the cornerstone of the Crusader states now lost, European strength was confined to the Mediterranean coastal states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre.

The Kingdom of Cilicia

In the eyes of the Crusaders, Cilicia now assumed a new strategic importance as a major Christian enclave. Evidence of this is a letter

written in 1189 by Pope Clement III both to Catholicos Grigor IV Tgha and Levon, formally requesting their military and financial assistance to the Crusading forces. Levon was both wise and ambitious enough to see that the circumstances were ripe to win once and for all official recognition of his position in the region. As early as 1190, Western chroniclers were referring to Levon as "duke," and "prince," but Levon's goal was a royal crown. He had hoped to receive it from the German Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, probably as a condition for further Rubenid assistance to the Crusade effort. Unfortunately for Levon, Frederick drowned while in Asia Minor in 1190. Finally, in either 1198 or 1199—the date is disputed, though there is firmer evidence for the latter—Levon received not one but two crowns, one from a representative of the new German emperor, Henry VI, and one from the Byzantine emperor. Chroniclers recount Levon's coronation as King of Armenia at the Cathedral of Tarsus on January 6 as a grand and ceremonious event, with nearly fifty members of both the Rubenid and Hetumid nobility, as well as numerous members of the clergy and representatives from Europe and the Crusader states.

During Levon's long reign Cilicia reached its greatest geographical extent and the apex of its power. Armenians finally had secure control of the coastal plain and their Mediterranean port cities. King Levon succeeded in the long Rubenid quest of breaking Hetumid power in western Cilicia. From his new capital at Sis he established alliances through his own, his daughter's, and his niece's marriage to the houses of Cyprus, Antioch, and Byzantium, respectively.

Levon's reign was marked, however, by two major crises. Levon's grand plan was to extend his control by uniting Cilicia to the powerful neighboring state of Antioch. It was a design that had occupied most of his reign, both before and after his coronation. Upon succeeding Ruben, Levon had made an uneasy peace with Bohemond III of Antioch, his brother's captor. When Saladin invaded Bohemond's principality, in about 1190 or 1191, Levon had made no attempt to aid his neighbor. Rather, as soon as Saladin had withdrawn from the strategic Antiochene fortress of Baghras (Gaston), which had been granted to the Order of the Knights Templar, Levon had seized it and refused to give it up. He had then plotted with Bohemond's wife, who wanted to assure the Antiochene succession of her line and, turning the tables, captured Bohemond during an invitation for talks on the Baghras question. Levon's terms for Bohemond's release was Cilician suzerainty over Antioch. The Antiochene nobility, many of whom had Armenian blood,

were ready to accept the terms, but the citizenry, particularly the largely Italian commercial interests, who feared Armenian competition, rebelled and established a commune to govern the principality. Levon had obviously lost the first round of his fight for Antioch.

Levon had managed, however, shortly before his coronation, to marry his niece Alice to Bohemond's son, Raymond. Soon after the birth of their son, Raymond Ruben, the boy's father died. Given Bohemond's advanced age, Antioch was sure to be governed by an Armenian regency if Raymond Ruben was upheld as heir, against his uncle, the Count of Tripoli. A protracted struggle ensued, with the pope and German emperor, the recent supporters of Levon's elevation to kingship, committed to the child's claim, and the Count of Tripoli, allied with Antioch's Pisan and Genoese merchants and the still-disgruntled Templars, against him. Even had Levon been willing to restore Baghras to the Templars as the pope requested, the popular sentiment in Antioch against the Armenians was too strong. The war of the Antiochene succession dragged on for the next quarter of a century. Old Bohemond of Antioch died in 1201, but Levon was too distracted by Seljuk raids into Cilicia to press the Armenian claim. Eventually, the Count of Tripoli, Bohemond's younger son, succeeded his father, thereby ending Levon's hopes of uniting the two states.

Levon's second and, for Cilicia itself, more serious crisis arose as a direct result of his coronation and was to plague the kingdom until its fall. This was the question of doctrinal and liturgical unity with the Roman Catholic Church, which the papacy had attempted to impose since the First Crusade. In granting Levon a royal crown with the consent and blessing of the pope, the German emperor as well as Rome expected acknowledgment of the pope as the head of Christendom. Whether Levon had agreed to such acknowledgment beforehand is unknown, but once crowned, he tried to allay the fears and anger of the Armenian clergy by requiring them only to make minor changes in the Armenian liturgy and only to concede a "special respect" to the pope as the successor of St. Peter. An early and apolitical Armenian supporter of unity with Rome was Nerses of Lambron, Bishop of Tarsus, but the cause found no leadership among the Cilician clergy after his death in 1199 and no widespread support at any time. As the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries wore on, the conflict over unity caused a serious rift not only between the Armenian crown and clergy but between the clergy of Greater Armenia and of the Cilician kingdom as well. The dispute over ecclesiastical unity with Rome became an issue that was

exploited by the papacy and the Crusaders as the Muslim counteroffensive against Cilicia later gained strength.

Cilician Society and Economy

The nature of the kingdom created in Cilicia by Levon and his successors differed greatly from that of the Bagratid dynasty and was, due to a century of close contact with the Crusaders, a decidedly Armenian-Western hybrid in certain respects. The relationship of the king to the nobility was essentially a Western feudal one of sovereign to vassal, rather than the earlier *nakharar* system of "first among equals." This relationship did not develop immediately or completely. As late as 1215, certain Cilician nobles still reserved the right to levy trade duties on foreign merchants, despite royal agreements of exemption, and throughout the life of the kingdom, the nobility had a voice in the question of succession. Western feudal law, specifically the *Assizes of Antioch* (which has survived only in its Armenian translation), was used to judge cases involving the court and nobility. Armenian nobles were knighted in the European tradition, and jousts and tournaments, unknown in Greater Armenia, became popular sport. Latin and French terms of nobility and office were used in place of Armenian equivalents: "paron" ("baron") rather than *nakharar*, and "gonstapl" ("constable") rather than *sparapet*. The alphabet itself was extended to accommodate certain new sounds introduced by Western languages, thus the Armenian letters օ and ֆ. French and Latin became secondary languages at the royal court. The nobility, as surviving manuscript illuminations and chroniclers' descriptions reveal, also adopted Western feudal dress. European, particularly French names, such as Raymond, Henri, Etien, Alice, Isabelle, and Melisende, became popular among members of the royal court. This was an age where alliances and agreements were often sealed by marriages, and the amount of intermarriage with the Cilician nobility, primarily Armenian noble women, meant that there were those of Armenian blood in the courts of every Crusader state, in Byzantium, and even in European noble families. Frequently, in order to facilitate these marriage alliances, Armenian nobles converted to Catholicism and the Greek Orthodox faith.

On the level below that of nobility, Cilicia was a heterogenous society, where the Armenian dealt with European, Greek, Jew, Eastern Christian, and Muslim on a daily basis. While there exists very little

information on the "average" Cilician Armenian of the commercial class, it is probable that intermarriage and the degree of "Frankishness" were on a smaller scale here than among the nobility; and among tradesmen and the peasantry, who made up the majority of the Armenian population, probably not at all. Certainly the clergy did its best, in the face of pressure from the throne, to keep its Eastern, Armenian character intact.

The fortunes of geography placed Cilicia at a strategic point in several important trade routes linking Central Asia and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, routes that carried, among other goods, the lucrative spice trade from India and Southeast Asia to Europe. Cilicia itself was a prosperous land and exported livestock as well as hides, wool, and cotton. Its goat-hair cloth had long been renowned for its strength. Timber from the mountains was traded as well as grain, wine, raisins, and raw silk. As was widespread in the period, there was also a profitable trade in Christian and Muslim slaves. During and after Levon's reign, the port of Ayas on the Gulf of Alexandretta, always an important stopover for European and oriental merchants, underwent a revitalization as the center of East-West commerce in Asia Minor. Ayas was a market center as well as a port, and its bazaars sold dyes, spices, silk and cotton cloth, carpets, and pearls from all over Asia, and finished cloth and metal products from Europe. Early in his reign Levon signed agreements with the Italian city-states of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, and later with the French and the Catalans, granting their merchants tax exemptions and other privileges in return for their trade. Thus, there was in Ayas, Tarsus, Adana, and Mamistra a thriving European merchant community, dominated by the Italians, which was allowed by treaty its own trading houses, churches, and courts of law. As French became the secondary language of the Cilician court, Italian became the secondary language of Cilician commerce.

Coins were struck by Cilician leaders as early as the second Rubenid leader, Toros, in the mid-twelfth century. During the period of the kingdom, gold and silver coins, called *dram* and *tagvorin*, were struck at the royal mints at Sis and Tarsus. In trade, all other coins of the period were used as well, such as the Italian *ducat*, *florin*, and *zecchino*, the Greek *besant*, the Arab *dirham*, and the French *livre*.

With the catholicosate at distant Hromkla on the Euphrates until the turn of the thirteenth century, the catholicos was assisted in administering the Armenian Church in Cilicia by fourteen bishops during the reign of Levon, and even more appear to have been named in later years.

Sis, Tarsus, Lambron, Anazarba, and Mamistra were the seats of archbishops. Sources list up to sixty monastic houses in Cilicia, though the location of many of these remains unknown.

The Rule of the Hetumids

King Levon I died in 1219, after one of the longest rules in Cilicia. Asia Minor and Palestine had a far different political configuration at his death than at the beginning of his rule. The Crusaders, led by the Venetians, had invaded the center of Christian power in the East, Constantinople, in 1204, forcing the Byzantine emperor to set up an empire-in-exile in Nicea. Farther east, Saladin's united Syria and Egypt was the stronghold of Muslim power in the region and an equal, if not greater, threat to Cilicia than the Seljuks. Europe recognized that threat to their own status in the region and sent the Fourth Crusade in 1215, which tried but failed to invade Egypt and check Saladin's power.

Levon at his death named his only child, Zabel (Isabelle), as his heir, but his grandnephew, Raymond Ruben of Antioch, with papal support, seized the throne. The Armenian nobility ousted and imprisoned Raymond Ruben and installed the young Zabel on the throne, with Constantine, a Hetumid noble, as regent, an action that marked the beginning of Hetumid rule in Cilicia. With the Seljuks occupying the western Taurus Mountains and threatening another invasion, Constantine sought an alliance with Antioch and arranged for Philip, the son of the Prince of Antioch, to marry Zabel, insisting, however, that the groom become a member of the Armenian Church. Whatever Zabel's feelings about her new husband, the Armenian nobility were not pleased. Philip seemed to disdain Armenian customs—it is said that he refused even to grow a beard—and was in Antioch more than in his adopted country. In 1224 he was arrested and poisoned in prison. Constantine saw an opportunity to consolidate Hetumid influence in Cilicia and married his own son, Hetum, to the widowed Zabel, then only fourteen years of age and three years Hetum's senior. Queen Zabel is one of the few female personalities mentioned by sources on Cilicia, and certainly the strongest. Upon her first husband's murder, she fled to the protection of the Knights Hospitaller rather than remain in Cilicia, and she refused for several years to live with her new husband. By 1230 she relented and the two were crowned at Sis, thus officially giving an equal share in governing the kingdom to the Hetumids.

Hetum I (1226-1270) enjoyed a reign of forty-four years, the longest of any Cilician king, and was fortunate during that time to have the wise counsel and support of his brother Smbat, the High Constable, or *sparapet*, of Cilicia, who has left the *Chronicle of Smbat*, a valuable source of that period (Der Nersessian, 1959). The reign of Hetum and Zabel is usually characterized as a “flowering of the arts,” but it was as marked by as much warfare as any other in Cilicia’s history. The Seljuks invaded again in both 1233 and 1245, demanding high tributes and inflicting terrible damage; the Ayyubids with their Mamluk army in Egypt were an ever-growing threat; and now, a new force appeared on the scene, the Mongols. Moving westward from the steppes of Central Asia, the Mongols had attacked the Seljuks in Anatolia and established a stronghold north of Syria. The Mongols were not Muslim but shamanists and had a common enemy with the Christians of the area in the Seljuks and Mamluks. The papacy, the Crusaders, and the Armenians all made great efforts at an alliance with the Mongol leaders, even hoping for their conversion to Christianity.

King Hetum, wisely, lost no time in approaching the Mongols. In 1247 he sent his brother Smbat to the Mongol court in the distant city of Kara Korum, and several years later he traveled there himself, to seal an alliance with the Great Khan Möngke against the Muslim powers threatening Cilicia. Upon his return to Cilicia, Hetum traveled through Greater Armenia, the first and only Cilician leader since the first generation of Rubenids and Hetumids to see the Armenian homeland.

The Mongol alliance was initially of great benefit to Cilicia and to the Mongols themselves in holding back the Seljuks and the Mamluks. Armenians fought side by side with Mongols and Antiochenes to defeat the Mamluk army at Aleppo and Damascus. The alliance was beneficial to the Armenians, however, only as long as the Mongols remained strong in the region around Cilicia. In 1260 the Mediterranean Crusader states, feeling their own security threatened by growing Mongol power, allowed Mamluk troops to march through Latin Palestine against a combined Mongol and Armenian force. The result was a crushing defeat by the Mamluks at Ayn Jalut, a victory that saved Egypt from the Mongols and encouraged the Muslims of Damascus, Aleppo, and other cities of Syria to rise against their Mongol conquerors. The Mongols were thus pushed back and contained in Iran, too distant to help Cilicia against renewed Mamluk and Seljuk attack.

While Hetum traveled again to the Mongol court, now at Tabriz, to seek more military aid, the Mamluk leader Baybars sought to punish

Cilicia's alliance with the Mongols against Egypt. For twenty days the Mamluks devastated the country, killing thousands, taking thousands more as prisoners and slaves, and setting fire to the cathedral at Sis and looting its treasury. The port of Ayas was destroyed, with serious consequences for the Cilician economy. The Armenians under Smbat the Constable fought as best they could, but they were hopelessly outnumbered. Hetum returned to find his country in ruins and retired to a monastery, abdicating in 1269 in favor of his son, Levon II (1270-1289).

Levon's reign was marked by a wave of invasions into Cilician territory by the Mamluks and by Turkmen and Kurdish bands. Levon was forced to sign a ten-year treaty with the Mamluks, requiring him to pay a high annual tribute in return for the safety of his people. Levon died in 1289, leaving the oldest of several sons, Hetum, to succeed him.

At a time when strong leadership was needed, Hetum II's reign, or rather series of reigns (1289-1293; 1295-1297; 1299-1307) marks the nadir of Cilician rule, checkered with fractious family and factional strife that was to characterize the kingdom's political history until its fall. Despite Levon II's treaty, the Mamluk threat still loomed, and in 1292, Hromkla was invaded, the catholicosate and its reliquaries and treasury looted, and the catholicos, Stepannos IV, taken captive. Hetum abdicated in favor of his brother, Toros (1293-1294) and, a devout convert to Catholicism, entered a Franciscan monastery. He was persuaded to resume the throne two years later. During his second reign, he married his sister to Amaury (Amalric) de Lusignan, brother of the king of Cyprus, whose children would later inherit the Cilician throne. Hetum traveled to Iran to reforge an alliance with the Mongols and from there went to Constantinople to do the same with Byzantium. Upon his return, he found that his brother Smbat I (1297-1299, not to be confused with the High Constable) had seized the throne. Hetum and his brother Toros were imprisoned, the latter strangled, and Hetum partially blinded. Another brother, Constantine I (1299), overthrew Smbat, declared himself king, and released Hetum. One year later Hetum had gathered enough support to retake the throne and exiled both Smbat and Constantine to Constantinople.

Hetum's strongly and openly pro-Roman sentiments no doubt were a factor in his overthrow. It was characteristic of the Cilician period that it was the kings, rather than the catholicses, who controlled the course of Armenian-Roman church relations, and with distant Hromkla sacked in 1292, Hetum took the opportunity to move the catholicosate

to Sis, the political capital, where this control could be better exercised. In this period those dismayed with Cilicia's "Romanizing" tendencies, particularly those in Greater Armenia, found a leader in Stepanos Orbelian (d. 1304), the metropolitan bishop of Siunik. His poem *Voghb*, or "Lament," reflects his sentiments on the pro-papacy direction of the catholicosate in Cilicia.

Shortly before Hetum abdicated for the final time to enter a monastery and left his throne to his nephew Levon III (1305-1307; co-ruler since 1301), the Mongol leadership dealt the Christian world a devastating blow by declaring its conversion to Islam. Still uncertain if this meant the end of hopes for alliance against the Mamluks, Hetum, now as a Franciscan friar, King Levon III, and about forty Cilician noblemen visited the Mongol emir at Anazarba. Their question of an alliance was answered when all were treacherously put to death.

More civil strife ensued. The throne passed to another of Hetum II's brothers, King Oshin (1307-1320). In a bid for European military assistance, two Armenian church councils were held, at Sis in 1307 and at Adana in about 1316, at which a number of Armenian clergy and nobles formally agreed to conform to Roman liturgical and doctrinal practice, including recognition of the pope. There rose to the surface intense anti-Roman sentiment, which soon became a general anti-Western reaction. King Oshin was poisoned in 1320. When his son and successor Levon IV (1320-1341) had both his own wife and stepfather killed and married the widowed queen of Cyprus, the Cilician nobility saw it as evidence of Levon's pro-European policy and rose up and murdered him in 1341.

The Lusignans

This chain of events left few living and legitimate contenders for the Cilician throne. The only ones left, in fact, were the nephews of Hetum II, the children of Amaury de Lusignan. Thus it was that the Cilician throne passed from a series of Armenian kings who were pro-Western in sentiment to a line that was European in culture and upbringing, and not at all popular with the Armenians. The first Lusignan king, Guy (1342-1344), in an effort to please his Armenian subjects, assumed the more Eastern, though Greek, name of Constantine. He reigned for a brief two years before being murdered. It is a significant indication of the political chaos in Cilicia at this time that there are no reliable Armenian

sources and few sources of any kind relating to events of this period. Constantine was succeeded by a cousin, another Constantine (1344-1362), who is frequently identified with yet another cousin Constantine (1367-1373). During the interim, it is unclear as to who was on the throne. An illegitimate Lusignan nephew, Levon (later Levon V), is said by some sources to have held power from 1363 to 1364. In any event, King or the Kings Constantine considered it more realistic to undertake a policy of appeasement to the Mamluks, by ceding to them pieces of the kingdom, in return for the safety of its inhabitants. The last Constantine, sensing the desperateness of his country's situation, went so far as to sign a treaty surrendering rule of the kingdom, providing that the safety of the Armenians would be honored. The Armenian nobility opposed this treaty and murdered him in 1373. After a one-year regency by Constantine's widow, the Lusignans were recalled to the throne, and Levon V (1374-1375) and his wife, Margaret of Soisonns, were crowned at Sis (Rudt-Collenberg, 1980).

It was a short and unhappy reign. The Mamluks dealt their final, crushing blow to Cilicia in 1375; the royal family was taken captive to Cairo and Cilicia came under Mamluk domination. Levon was ransomed and went to Europe, traveling from court to court to enlist Europe's aid in recapturing his kingdom. He died in 1393 in Paris and was given the honor of burial in the church of St. Denis, the traditional medieval resting place of the kings of France, where his tomb can still be seen today.

Though the Cilician kingdom was at an end, the Mamluks did not hold Cilicia for long, and the Armenians who remained there came under Turkic domination around the turn of the century. Those Armenians who could fled the area, many eastward to Iran and Greater Armenia; some, particularly merchant families, westward, to found or add to the Armenian communities of the diaspora in France, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and Poland. By the early sixteenth century, all of Cilicia, as all of Asia Minor, had passed to Ottoman Turkish control. A few semi-autonomous mountainous principalities such as Hadjin and Zeitun survived until the nineteenth century.

What tangibly remains of the Cilician kingdom are written records (few translated into English) and works of art. All important sources on the period have been printed and many translated. Cilicia had what came to be a distinctive dialect from that of Greater Armenia, and some linguists trace the origins of modern Western Armenian to the language of the Cilicians. The works of art that have survived include fine examples of silver and other metalwork and coins, but especially manu-

script illuminations. Toros Roslin, who headed the scriptorium at Hromkla in the thirteenth century, revitalized the Armenian art of illumination; his work was filled with the details of daily life and displayed a less stylized form than that of his predecessors.

Something less tangible that remained of Armenian Cilicia was the kingly title. This passed to Levon V's relative, John I, King of Cyprus, who had also inherited the equally meaningless Crusader title of "King of Jerusalem." Through John's descendants it passed to the House of Savoy, so that as late as the nineteenth century, the prince of Savoy claimed, among his other titles, that of "King of Armenia."

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Cilician Armenia Dynasties

Lords

Ruben, d. 1095
 Constantine, 1095-1102
 Toros, 1102-1129
 Constantine, 1129
 Levon, 1129-1140
 Toros, 1144-1169
 Ruben, 1169-1170
 Mleh, 1170-1175
 Ruben, 1175-1187
 Levon, 1187 to 1199 (as lord)

Kings

Levon I, 1199-1219
 Queen Zabel (Isabelle), 1219-1223 (co-ruler with Philip of Antioch to 1223,
 co-ruler with Hetum to 1252)
 Hetum I, 1226-1270 (co-ruler with Queen Zabel [Isabelle] until her death in 1252)
 Levon II, 1270-1289
 Hetum II, 1289-1293
 Toros, 1293-1294
 Hetum II, 1294-1297 (second reign)
 Smbat, 1297-1299
 Constantine, 1299
 Hetum II, 1299-1307 (third reign)
 Levon III, 1301-1307 (co-ruler with Hetum II)
 Oshin, 1307-1320
 Levon IV, 1320-1341
 Constantine II (Guy de Lusignan), 1342-1344
 Constantine III, 1344-1362
 Levon V (Lusignan), 1363-1364
 Constantine IV, 1364-1373 (considered a usurper by some; sources mention
 a Queen Mary as regent from 1369-1374)
 Levon V, (Lusignan) (second reign) 1374-1375

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